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ZERI I POPULLIT ACCUSES REAGAN OF 'CHAUVINISM'

AU051226 Tirana ATA in English 0930 GMT 5 Mar 81

[Text] Tirana, 5 Mar (ATA)--The newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT exposes in an article Reagan's aims, who in his inauguration speech and later on has devoted special care to the instigation of the spirit of aggressive chauvinism in the American rank and file.

In his inauguration speech he did not spare the clauses on "personal energy and genius of the American man", rose in cult the known fascist theories of "the great nation who cannot tolerate itself to be confined in small dreams", and who, consequently, wants to have "more strength in all the world". And if last year, Reagan, referring to the aggression of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam, described it as a "noble cause", again turned to this topic in his presidential speech and erected "monument to those heroes" as he put it, "the lives of which were terminated in hundreds of plains planted with rice in a country called Vietnam".

Now, in the Pentagon headquarters, he is awarding the highest medal of the country to the veteran criminals for their bravery in the aggression of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam. Speaking on the reasons why Reagan is again raising a problem covered up with shame, the newspaper points out among others:

The fact is that the U.S. bourgeois society suffers from many acute internal problems, which President Reagan was forced to admit in his programmatic speech as well as in those he held later. He himself has defined them as "tragedy of millions" or as such that "ruin the human dignity". By inciting the chauvinism of the great nation and the bourgeois aggressive nationalism in the consciousness of the rank and file Americans, so as to poison them, Reagan aims at diverting the attention of the local public opinion from the internal problems. He is the man of the almighty monopolies, especially of war and oil monopolies. As such, he serves them by increasing the war budgets and the preparations for new aggressions so as to win the lost positions in the oil rich area of the Middle East and the Persian Gulf, and if possible, to win new ones. In order to pursue all this line and strategy he has to do everything in his power to create also a mobilization of the psychological preparation of the American people, to befuddle the broad working masses with a pseudopatriotic demagogy, with sham pride and to present the life of the invaders who left their remains in Indochina and elsewhere as a noble ideal, as a model of an honored and respected life for all the times, writes in conclusion ZERI I POPULLIT.

DPRK AMBASSADOR DEPARTS FOR HOME 2 MARCH

AU022138 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 2 Mar 81

[Text] On occasion of his transfer, Yi Yon-sang, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Democratic Republic of Korea to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, left our country on 2 March. At Rinas Airport the ambassador was seen off by Jovan Antoni, director of the Protocol Directorate of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

ZHIVKOV RECEIVES NEW ETHIOPIAN, AFGHAN AMBASSADOR

First Ethiopian Envoy

AU051446 Sofia BTA in English 1335 GMT 5 Mar 81

[Text] Sofia, 5 Mar (BTA)--Today the Bulgarian State Council president, Mr Todor Zhivkov, received the newly-appointed Ethiopian ambassador here Dr Ashagre Yigletu, who presented him his credentials. Dr Yigletu is the first Ethiopian ambassador in Sofia.

In his speech at the ceremony Mr Todor Zhivkov described the opening of an Ethiopian Embassy in Sofia as a manifestation of the high level of all-round relations between the two countries and as an expression of the wish of the Ethiopian Government for development and strengthening of cooperation.

"We are satisfied with the development of these relations and we also think there are many unexplored possibilities for their further expansion" Mr Todor Zhivkov added. He stressed Bulgaria's willingness to promote her relations with Ethiopia on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and in compliance with the provisions of the friendship and cooperation treaty of 1980.

Expressing solidarity with the Ethiopian revolution, Mr Todor Zhivkov said: "We resolutely condemn the expansionist and chauvinist policy of the present Somalian Government, a policy which serves the interests of the reactionary circles, the interests of the enemies of the African peoples".

For his part the Ethiopian ambassador, too, expressed conviction that the opening of the embassy will help in the creation of favorable conditions for the implementation of all agreements between the two countries and for further development of cooperation in various spheres of life. He pointed to the significance of the Bulgarian experience in the construction of socialism in Ethiopia.

Afghan Envoy

AU051444 Sofia BTA in English 1340 GMT 5 Mar 81

[Text] Sofia, 5 Mar (BTA)--Mr Todor Zhivkov, president of the State Council of Bulgaria, emphasized: "It is our unflinching course to extend full backing to the heroic Afghan people in their struggle against the internal and international reaction, in building their new life".

Today, accepting the credentials of the newly appointed Afghan ambassador to Bulgaria, Mr Emteyas Hasan, he noted that the Bulgarian people acclaim the 1978 April revolution and were solidary with its second stage, "which saved the revolutionary gains and created the necessary conditions for the further consolidation of Bulgaro-Afghan friendship".

On his part Mr Emteyas Hasan emphasized that the friendship of the Bulgarian and Afghan people had been built on a solid foundation after the April revolution, and with the victory of its second stage of December the 27th, 1979, it deepened more and more and was becoming still more all-round. He said: "We are enjoying your selfless assistance in all spheres".

LILOV MEETS SFRY AMBASSADOR ON PARTY MATTERS

AU051432 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 4 Mar 81 p 8

[Text] Aleksandur Lilov, member of the BCP Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, yesterday received Danilo Puric, Yugoslav ambassador in Sofia, who asked for an audience. They discussed the development of relations and cooperation between the LCY and the BCP.

HULA, MARTINKA, COLOTKA MEET WITH FALUVEGI

LD041906 Budapest MTI in English 1737 GMT 4 Mar 81

[Text] Budapest, 4 Mar (MTI)--Lajos Faluvegi, deputy chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers and president of the National Planning Office, conducted talks with Vaclav Hula, deputy chairman of Czechoslovak Government and president of the State Planning Committee, in Prague on Monday and Tuesday. They reviewed the outcome of the 1981-85 plan coordination talks and the possibility of expanding economic cooperation. They also studied measures necessary for developing relations in the post-1985 period.

They established that the coordination of the 1981-85 national economic plans informed an important factor in the two countries' economic life. They pointed out that the scope for expanding the links exist primarily in the sphere of production cooperation and specialization. They declared it necessary to elaborate a Hungarian-Czechoslovak economic collaboration programme for the post-1985 span.

Lajos Faluvegi met Karol Martinka, deputy chairman of the Slovak Government and president of the Slovak Planning Committee, in Bratislava on Wednesday. They exchanged views about issues pertaining to direct economic cooperation between the Slovak Socialist Republic and Hungary. During the day the Hungarian deputy prime minister also called on Peter Colotka, chairman of the Slovak Government.

KOZIK LEAVES FOR AFGHAN TRADE UNION CONGRESS

LD041334 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1130 GMT 4 Mar 81

[Text] Today Viliam Kozik, secretary of the Central Council of Trade Unions, left Prague for Kabul. He will take part in the impending congress of the Central Council of the Afghanistan Workers' Trade Unions at the invitation of the organization.

CATHOLIC PRIEST RELEASED AFTER THREE MONTHS

LD050208 Vatican City in Czech to Czechoslovakia 1845 GMT 4 Mar 81

[Text] Franciscan Father Jan Barta was released on 18 February. Three months ago he was arrested and interrogated in Liberec.

TU OFFICIAL WRITES ON LABOR'S ROLE IN WAGE POLICY

LD031654 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 0830 GMT 3 Mar 81

[Text] The daily PRACA carries an article written by Ladislav Jasik, Central Council of Trade Unions secretary, devoted to the joint participation by the trade unions in the shaping of a wage policy. The article says that during the past 10 years the trade unions did, under the party leadership, creditable work in the area of labor and wages. They helped to eliminate chaos caused by the rightwing opportunist and counterrevolutionary forces in the course of the years of the crisis, which had seriously affected wage policy.

During the period of the rationalization of the labor and wages systems, individual trade unions, works and enterprises committees of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement made a significant contribution to the consolidation of order in the wage system. They played an important part in ensuring that the quality of the performance norms had achieved a solid level in new enterprises where there is automated or continual production. To a large extent, experimentation and the practices of other enterprises in the wage area have improved in quality to such an extent that it distinctly stimulates workers to productive work of good quality and to observe the principles of good housekeeping. An effective wage policy is not only the good mass-political work of the trade unions, but above all, it is high-level production management, good labor organization, strict recordkeeping, supervision and order in the system of performance norms.

KAEUBLER COMMENTS ON U.S. ARMS BUDGET INCREASE

DW052009 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1517 GMT 5 Mar 81

[Horst Kaeubler Washington dispatch]

[Text] U.S. Secretary of Defense Casper Weinberger presented the new administration's record military budget to Congress. Our correspondent in Washington, Horst Kaeubler, comments:

Before President Carter stepped down he submitted to Congress for approval the arms budget for fiscal 1982 beginning in October 1981. But former President Carter's record military budget of $171.2 billion was not high enough. Now, 3 months later, Secretary of Defense Weinberger at the Senate Armed Services Committee has asked Congress for approval of a modified military budget of the new administration. The volume of the planned arms expenditures is of almost astronomic dimensions: $222.2 billion.

We ask ourselves, dear listeners, whether there are certain forces in the United States who are trying to produce accomplished facts regarding the arms race. The new U.S. military budget is to be increased by $51 billion over the previous year. This sum does not even include expenses for the production of nuclear arms which are covered by the budget of the Energy Department. An amount of $4.2 billion has been earmarked for them.

But even the arms budget of this fiscal year has been revised. The 1981 budget of the Pentagon will be increased by $6.8 billion. Some 450 arms programs are to be financed with this sum. The main focus is on the stationing of the new mobile intercontinental MX missiles in Nevada and Utah. Priority is given to the development of a new nuclear fighter bomber which is to replace the B-52. Despite international conventions banning chemical weapons the ground forces insist on the production of a new nerve gas for chemical warfare. The Rapid Deployment Force demands an expansion of the Diego Garcia military base in the Indian Ocean as the take-off and landing base for strategic bombers as well as the supply of mobile military equipment.

The statement made by Weinberger before the Armed Services Committee that U.S. arms expenditures in the next 5 years will rise to $1.5 thousand billion--a figure which is almost unimaginable--will certainly be a shock to large sections of the U.S. public which have been called upon to tighten their belts as a result of enormous budgetary cuts in the social sector. In New York 300 civil rights organizations, trade unions, religious groups and anti-war demonstrators therefore decided to organize a protest march to the Pentagon to counteract a rearmament policy of incalcuable consequences, as spokesmen of this coalition emphasized.

KRENZ RECEIVES VISITING ITALIAN COMMUNIST YOUTH

LD050024 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 2100 GMT 4 Mar 81

[Text] Egon Krenz, first secretary of the FDJ Central Council had a meeting in Berlin today with a delegation of the Italian Communist Youth Federation which is on a friendship visit to the GDR. Egon Krenz and National Secretary Marco Fumagalli spoke of the expectation that the visit would deepen the friendly cooperation between the two youth organizations. The first secretary of the FDJ Central Council spoke of the longstanding relations in the joint struggle against the dangerous confrontation policy of U.S. imperialism and its NATO allies. The youth of the GDR, he stressed, fully supports the new peace program of the 26th CPSU Congress.

KADAR, DELEGATION ARRIVE HOME FROM MOSCOW

LD052338 Budapest Domestic Television Service in Hungarian 1830 GMT 5 Mar 81

[Text] The Hungarian delegation headed by Janos Kadar, which attended the 26th CPSU Congress, has arrived home from Moscow. The delegation was welcomed at Keleti [Budapest] station by Pal Losonczi, president of the Presidential Council; Gyorgy Aczel, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers; Ferenc Havasi, Mihaly Korom, Karoly Nemeth and Miklos Ovari, secretaries of the party Central Committee, members of the Politburo; and by several members of the government. Janos Brutyo, chairman of the MSZMP Central Control Committee; Istvan Horvath, minister of the interior; Frigyes Puja, minister of foreign affairs; and Arpad Pullai, minister of transportation and postal affairs, members of the Central Committee; and Istvan Varga, deputy chief of department at the Central Committee, were present. Valeriy Musatov, charge d'affaires ad interim of the USSR in Hungary, was also present.

BUDAPEST PROGRAM ON EL SALVADOR SITUATION

LD050800 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1906 GMT 3 Mar 81

["War in the Isthmus: Central America's Bloody Weekdays" program presented by Gyorgy Bernat with recorded statements by Alexander Haig, U.S. secretary of state; Janos Berecz, chief of the Department of International Relations of the MSZMP Central Committee; (Laszlo Major) [not further identified]; Jorge Shafick Handal, secretary general of the Communist Party of El Salvador and "member of the executive of the liberation front"; (Jose Martel), spokesman of the Revolutionary Democratic Front; Miguel d'Escoto, Nicaraguan foreign minister; and Tomas Borge, Nicaraguan interior minister]

[Excerpts] [Bernat] El Salvador: 22,000 square km; 4.5 million inhabitants producing coffee, cotton, sugar and rice; and the most acute internal war of our days, a tragedy that could not remain El Salvador's alone. It appears that this tiny Central American country is interfering in world politics. This, however, is only the appearance. The question is: Will El Salvador become a battlefield? The new Reagan government keeps talking about the El Salvador issue, and the significance of this goes beyond the borders of the little state and even beyond the sea. In the next 30 minutes we will discuss some aspects of the El Salvador problem and policy concerning El Salvador.

[Begin Haig recording in English fading into Hungarian translation] International terrorism is taking the place of human rights in our conception because that is the latest smearing of human rights. [end recording]

[Bernat] This is how Alexander Haig, U.S. secretary of state, formulated the essence of the Republican government's new campaign. What brought about this change in U.S. foreign policy? Before we go on to talk about conditions in El Salvador, let us by way of reply listen to a recording which was made in the foreign political program, Radio Diary. The guest was Janos Berecz, chief of the Department of International Affairs of the MSZMP Central Committee.

[Begin Berecz recording] I have looked at the pronouncements made by Secretary of State Haig connected with this issue. I looked at them, and what struck me first of all is what he said to us Europeans via a French newspaper, L'EXPRESS. He said that international terrorism is dreadfully annoying to the United States. For this reason it will be a No 1 problem which will have to be dealt with. I quote verbatim: It is at all events unpleasant that we do not dispose of reliable reports; although it is undoubtedly possible to gather them. We must seek out the necessary information.

Two things strike me immediately: First, that they decided without reliable information that this would be the No 1 problem for the United States in the world during the coming period. Although there is none as yet, there will be reliable information, so that we can count on various statements.

But the essence still does not lie in this but in the fact that we will be dealing with a new campaign. This campaign is the struggle for human rights, against or for them. This will be against them because Haig says in this statement that the policy of human rights has isolated the United States from many of its allies. It has damaged foreign political objectives and has had the most harmful possible influence on relations with a given region and states. Let us take for example Latin America. And he is right in this. Or let us say Iran, the Iran of the Shah. The human rights campaign offended the leaders of these countries because they practiced an openly terrorist dictatorship, or at least a fairly strong dictatorship over their own peoples. Now those who fight against these oppressors, against racial oppression, against foreign capitalists, and who want the independence of their own country and its freedom from foreign influence will be called international terrorists. Their objective is, on the one hand, to discredit the national liberation movements, to help their own allies, whose rule is based on dictatorship, and in addition to all this, to wage a campaign against the USSR, claiming that it is not fit to take part in today's international relations because it supports the terrorists. [end recording]

[Bernat] Is the main issue in the current policy of the U.S. Government not SALT, not disarmament, not armaments or the neutron bomb, but El Salvador? Our guest, (Laszlo Major) comments:

[Major] The U.S. administration presents El Salvador as a major international threat, which by itself is ridiculous, to say the least, were it not a tragedy for El Salvador. According to U.S. strategists and foreign policymakers, El Salvador, with its 22,000 sq kms, endangers U.S. security. What is more, these people say that the Salvadoran communists threaten Mexico's Tampico and Chiapas oil fields. Apart from the fact that President Reagan himself has already made a few mistakes of geography at his press conferences--he called the Caribbean Sea the Mediterranean Sea--if they had looked at the map then they would have seen that El Salvador does not have a common border with Mexico. El Salvador is a pretext. El Salvador is an enormous [word indistinct] political atmosphere. However it is this country's tragedy that the United States wants to make it a precedent. El Salvador is too near to the United States. It is too small, and, according to the minds of U.S. military planners and civilian politicians, it can be dealt with easily through U.S. military strength or support.

[Bernat] The liberation front launched its offensive on 10 January. The date is important because it was 10 days before the inauguration of the menacing Reagan. Quite clearly the guerrillas wanted to present a fait accompli during the change in the U.S. presidents. What did they manage to achieve? Shafick Handal, secretary general of the Communist Party of El Salvador, who is a member of the executive of the liberation front, comments.

[Begin Shafick Handal recording in Spanish fading into Hungarian translation] The liberation army launched a general strategic offensive at 1730 on 10 January. For the first time during the struggle it took the initiative and forced the enemy onto the defensive. The balance sheet of the first phase of the offensive was favorable because it brought about a strengthening of the political and military forces of the front. Part of the country came under our control and the majority of the population living in that region supports the revolution and will even take up arms if needed. The enemy suffered substantial losses and this was the first time that it had to deploy against us all its internal and external reserves. As part of this balance sheet it should be mentioned that the liberation forces managed to occupy larger towns and other settlements for a few days and controlled some highways. We also began to organize the institutions of people's power in those areas in which we completely destroyed the military units of the enemy and dissolved its political authority.

Now we have reached the stage in our general offensive during which we must create the conditions for its continuation. The junta, which is made up of soldiers and Christian Democrats, as well as its propagandists, are trying to distort the truth. They are talking about our 'defeat' and they have been trying to make people believe that we wanted to seize power and that we wanted an immediate victory. However, we have never talked like this. We always took into account the balance of forces and tried to consider our own position and the state of our country in a realistic way, and international circumstances.

We know that we have to oppose not only the members of the reactionary government and the fascist members of the supreme leadership but also other groups of the current military-Christian Democrat junta that are supporting the struggle against us with arms, politics and propaganda. [end recording]

(Jose Martel), a spokesman for the civilian opposition, of the Revolutionary Democratic Front, discusses the propaganda weapon which should not be underestimated.

[Begin (Martel) recording in Spanish fading into Hungarian translation] The Salvadoran regime has launched a campaign to keep the truth from the population and to prevent the people of El Salvador from finding out about the plans of the Revolutionary Democratic Front. They are trying to discredit the bourgeois opposition so that they can separate it from the people. They are claiming that it is an extremist leftwing faction and at the same time they are noting that there is also an extreme rightwing force which the regime itself rejects. However, the truth is that the extreme right is closely collaborating with the junta while the people are on our side and are following the Revolutionary Democratic Front without any reservations. [end recording]

[Bernat] The January offensive was not a complete success. How does Shafick Handal account for this?

[Begin Shafick Handal recording in Spanish fading into Hungarian translation] What we did on 10 January was to begin just a general offensive. In this context it must be made clear that the general strike organized in San Salvador did not bring the desired results. The capital and its environs came to a standstill in some areas. Many workers were on strike and many factories were standing idle; however, we could not paralyze production.

A phase has now come to an end and we are working and preparing for another offensive. We do not want to interrupt the continuity. We do not believe what our enemies are saying, namely, that the liberation forces have been defeated once and for all. What we are dealing with is the fact that new times require new tactics. We must find a method by which we may weaken the enemy more effectively and we must also complete these new plans. We want to repudiate the rumors spread about us, not by acts but by deeds.

I would like to call your attention to one aspect of the situation in El Salvador. This affects not only us but also all the peoples of the region and even world peace. This has to do with the behavior of the United States toward El Salvador. We looked favorably on the proposal for the U.S. administration to hold talks with us. However, the moment we gave a positive response, the U.S. administration retreated and destroyed its opportunity. Instead of holding talks, it decided to strengthen the junta by military aid and to extend this support to its army which is carrying out indiscriminate murders. It has delivered a lot of weapons, has rapidly increased the number of military advisors, has given helicopters to the junta and has organized the latest airlift. Every day 10 C-130 transport planes arrive, laden with weapons, from U.S. military bases in Panama. At the same time it has made threatening statements to Nicaragua. [end recording]

[Bernat] What does Miguel d'Escoto, the Nicaraguan foreign minister, have to say about these threats?

[Begin d'Escoto recording in English fading into Hungarian translation] Even if we just take as our point of departure the statements made during the election campaign, we already have serious concerns. As for the events of the last few weeks, these have increased our anxieties. To tell the truth, we have always had doubts about the United States and we will always have these. The question of which party is in office in Washington makes little difference to the essence of American policy. [end recording]

[Bernat] Regarding Nicaraguan help for El Salvador, Tomas Borge, the Nicaraguan interior minister comments.

[Begin Borge recording in Spanish fading into Hungarian translation] We believe that the example of the Nicaraguan revolution is the best form of solidarity that we can provide for the peoples living under the oppression of local dictatorships. We do not send a single fighter either to El Salvador or anywhere else. Only the peoples of the countries involved can achieve their own freedom. Revolution is not for export. However, the example of our revolution can reach everywhere and this can not be prevented by customs officials, the first line of the secret police. [end recording]

[Bernat] Let us conclude our program with a view which cannot be regarded as a final one and which leaves a lot of things in the open because we cannot speak of facts that have been completed in the context of El Salvador. Well, this concluding view is that of Shafick Handal.

[Begin Shafick Handal recording in Spanish fading into Hungarian translation] The U.S. leaders are mistaken if they think that they can defeat and liquidate us using these methods. Indeed, they can only intensify the conflict and extend it to the entire region by the use of such methods. The United States already has a presence in the war in El Salvador in the form of its own soldiers or rather advisers. Moreover, it has compelled the Governments of Guatemala and Honduras to intervene in El Salvador. Guatemala has already begun military exercises in the region around the frontier. We think that this is an adventurist and irresponsible activity on the part of the U.S. administration. The American Government is now following the line that it pursued once in Vietnam. It is Vietnamizing its policy. However, this time it is directed against the revolutionary forces of Central America in El Salvador. The measures it is taking today are exactly the same as those taken at the beginning of the Vietnam war. [end recording]

POLITBURO APPROVES DELEGATION VISIT TO CPSU CONGRESS

LD051926 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 5 Mar 81

[Text] The PZPR Central Committee Politburo was briefed at its 5 March meeting with the report of the PZPR delegation to the 26th CPSU Congress. They stressed the specific and important role of the policy and resolutions of the 26th CPSU Congress for the development of the Soviet state, for the international communist and workers movement, for the consolidation of unity and cohesion of fraternal socialist states, and for further consistent efforts for detente and peaceful development of the world.

The penetrating analysis of the situation and the program of the CPSU contained in the report of Secretary General of the CPSU Central Committee Leonid Brezhnev and in the resolutions of the 26th congress, concerning the internal and foreign policy of the Soviet Union, have met with great attention and response in the ranks of the PZPR and from the Polish community.

The Politburo expressed full approval of the activity of the PZPR delegation at the 26th CPSU Congress. Fully supporting the line and the program of the 26th congress, the importance of the socioeconomic policy and strategy of the Soviet state was emphasized, as was the development of communist building in the USSR and the new important initiatives for creating a universal long-term program of peace, the consolidation of the unity of the socialist community states, their successful development and joint struggle for disarmament, consolidation of international security and the development of international cooperation.

The course of the 26th congress and the resolutions adopted constitute an expression of deeply humanist objectives. They are the source of inspiration and experience for all communist parties. In this context, the great importance of the 26th CPSU Congress was emphasized for the creative development of Marxism-Leninism, and for the propagation and practical realization of Lenin's thought.

The Politburo attached great importance to the dissemination of the resolutions and texts of the 26th CPSU Congress among the ranks of the PZPR and the whole Polish community, in order to creatively use the rich experience of Soviet communists.

The Politburo was briefed on the talks held by the Polish delegation to the congress with the leadership of the Soviet party and state. It has been ascertained that the talks constitute an important event in the development of Polish-Soviet cooperation in all fields and confirm the fraternal relations linking our parties and countries. The importance of the development of cooperation and further exchange of experience between the PZPR and CPSU was pointed out.

The Politburo approved the results of the Polish-Soviet talks, expressed its high appreciation, and thanked for fraternal help and support. [sentence as heard] It is of great value [as heard] to convince the fraternal Soviet party that our party and people have sufficient possibilities and strength to liquidate the dangers threatening the achievements of the Polish people, and to solve the difficult problems in the spirit of socialism in accordance with the interests of our country and the entire socialist community.

[Warsaw PAP in Russian at 2100 GMT on 5 March carries an identical report on the PZPR Politburo meeting except that in the PAP Russian version, the last paragraph reads: "The Politburo approved the results of the Polish-Soviet talks, gave them a high appraisal and expressed gratitude for the fraternal aid and support. The fraternal Soviet party's conviction that our party and people have sufficient possibilities and strength to eliminate the threats hanging over the gains of the Polish people and to solve the difficult problems in a spirit of socialism, in accordance with the interests of our country and of the whole socialist community is greatly significant."]

KANIA, BREZHNEV HOLD 'FRIENDLY' MEETING IN MOSCOW

For Moscow Domestic Service and Warsaw Domestic Service reportage on the meeting between Stanislaw Kania, PZPR Central Committee first secretary, and Leonid Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, in Moscow on 4 March, see the 5 March Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, page P 2.

KOR LEADER KURON ARRESTED BY POLICE, RELEASED

NC051954 Paris AFP in English 1949 GMT 5 Mar 81

[Excerpt] Warsaw, 5 Mar (AFP)--Polish authorities today carried out a threatened crackdown of the Social Self-Defence Committee (KOR), "brains trust" of the independent trade union federation Solidarity.

KOR's key figure, historian Jacek Kuron, aged 47, a Solidarity official, was arrested at dawn today as he was leaving home to catch a train for Czestochowa to attend a meeting of the union. After being held at his local police station for five hours, Mr Kuron was told by a state prosecutor that he was being placed under police surveillance. He was allowed to leave but ordered to report to the police station every Tuesday and Thursday.

The prosecutor said Mr Kuron was accused of making statements aimed at undermining Poland's Government and institutions and of belonging to a "felonious organisation."

Mr Kuron's wife, interviewed by a telephone, told reporters that the second charge had been levelled against her husband several times in the past. But the first charge, which carries a penalty of six months to eight years' imprisonment, was a new one.

Kuron meanwhile went on to Czestochowa as scheduled and will be in Katowice tomorrow for another Solidarity meeting. No other KOR member seems to have been the target of similar official measures.

WALESA TO MEET WITH JARUZELSKI ON TU'S, KURON

NC052025 Paris AFP in English 2013 GMT 5 Mar 81

[Text] Warsaw, 5 Mar (AFP)--Lech Walesa, president of the Solidarity union confederation, will meet here with Polish Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski tomorrow, union sources said today. Mr Walesa, who was helping the provincial union section at Nowy Sacz today in negotiations with the authorities, told associates that in his talks with General Jaruzelski he would be discussing all major unsolved problems between government and unions and also bring up the case of Jacek Kuron, the Polish dissident activist detained today.

SOLIDARITY WEEKLY EDITORIAL OFFICE ISSUES COMMUNIQUE

LD052016 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 5 Mar 81

[Text] The first issue of the weekly SOLIDARNOSC will be published in Warsaw towards the end of March or beginning of April. It will be a social weekly published by the National Consultative Commission [KKP] of NSZZ Solidarity. Here is a communique issued by the editorial office of this weekly.

Besides the issues concerning trade union life, the weekly will also deal with social, economic and cultural issues and try to encompass all important problems and events in Polish public life. The KKP has appointed editor Tadeusz Mazowiecki as chief editor of the weekly. He was previously chief editor of the monthly WIEZ.

The weekly SOLIDARNOSC will have 16 pages of full-size format and a circulation of 500,000 copies. It will be available on the "Ruch" stands all over the country. It will also be available in limited minimum quantity for subscription by trade union organizations.

The works' commissions of NSZZ Solidarity should consult the interfactory founding committees in their region on the subject. Public libraries all over Poland are also invited to subscribe to the weekly SOLIDARNOSC. In order to make the weekly available to individual readers in rural areas and small towns individual readers will be able to subscribe through rural post offices and local offices of the "Ruch" enterprise in small towns.

The editorial office of the weekly SOLIDARNOSC points out that subscription for the weekly for the second quarter of this year must be paid before 10 March, that is, before next Tuesday. Because of the limited edition of the weekly, however, voivodship towns and the capital city of Warsaw are excluded from the possibility of individual subscription. To alleviate the results of this limitation the "Ruch" stands in cities will receive more copies of the weekly for sale to individuals.

The editorial office of the newly founded weekly greets its future readers and expresses its hope that the weekly SOLIDARNOSC will be cordially received by trade union members and public opinion all over Poland.

COMMENTATOR REPLIES TO RFE CRITIC ON ROLE OF PZPR

LD051242 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0700 GMT 5 Mar 81

[Jan Podolski commentary]

[Text] There is a joke circulating in Warsaw. You know it and here it is: During a discussion at a factory a proposal is made--we will only work on Tuesday. Someone in the hall asks the question: Every Tuesday? This anecdote is like many others but to a certain extent it conveys the current mood. After months of bargaining between the government and Solidarity, in which the government was remiss because of its slowness and frequent inconsistency in implementing the decisions of Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzebie, and many Solidarity cells because of their stubbornness and (?resorting to dependence on) action of an aggressive character--which did not pass without resistance--commonsense is beginning to prevail in our community. A new climate is emerging in relations between the authorities and the community, a climate which was so uncertain in the past decade. The premier-general who personally checks stocks in stores and visits workers in their apartments in Wola is something that we have never known in Poland; it symbolizes an authority which is strong and at the same time intimate, so different from that of the seventies surrounded by courtly ritual and glorified by the propaganda of success and by an authority which was distant and at the same time alien.

In these conditions General Jaruzelski's appeal for a 3-month moratorium for the government is encountering understanding on the part of the community. The principals of the subversive Western radio stations are well aware of this. Until not so long ago, following the August events last year, Radio Free Europe as well as the Polish section of the BBC tried to present the Polish party and government as a narrow elite, alienated from society, and the newly founded trade union movement as the representative of the efforts of the working class and the entire nation against that elite.

Those who make decisions in the Western centers will now have most probably come to the conclusion that this type of propaganda is becoming less effective, especially in view of the fact that the all-party discussion before the approaching Ninth PZPR Congress is assuming greater importance in the life of the country. It has been decided, therefore, and this is clear from the current broadcasting policy of those stations, to carry out a well defined tactical maneuver. The point of this maneuver is to shift the thesis of the allegedly irreconcileable contradictions between the community and party and government leadership, to the ground of the party's internal affairs, to replace the image of a quarreling society with that of a disintegrating party. To prove that these are not just empty words let me cite an example of this kind of activity. "Two PZPR's Or One, And If So Which One?" is the significant title of a commentary by (Michal Suszycki), a Radio Free Europe publicist.

He compared a quotation from the Warsaw PZPR committee resolution with some other opinions voiced in the precongress discussion. I shall give you the part of the quoted PZPR resolution he attacks: Today the most urgent task for party members is to take up a political struggle against antisocialist views. The Warsaw committee states that the work done in most party organizations is serving well to prepare the Warsaw party organization for the Ninth PZPR Congress. We must close our ranks and join the struggle against the forces of destruction and for the political awareness of the working people of Warsaw.

Commenting on this resolution, (Suszycki) says that the most urgent task for the Warsaw PZPR committee is not economic reform, restoring public life or ensuring a halt to the recurrent Polish crises. Its taks is to campaign against antisocialist views. It is well worth our while to draw attention to the striking lack of logic in this criticism of the party branch which puts to the foreground of action the struggle against antiparty ideology. (Suszyski) would clearly like the party not to combat the ideological adversary, to be completely defenseless. The Radio Free Europe publicist next cites part of an article by Prof (Henryk Zielinski) published in the Wroclaw GAZETA ROBOTNICZA. The quotation says: At the present moment the main danger for the party and socialism in Poland threatens not from the direction of revisionism or reformism, but quite unequivocally from the direction of conservatism supported by ideological dogmatism. Continuing his argument, (Suszycki) quotes out of context from an article by Dr (Wiktorski) of the Nikolaj Kopernik University of Torun, published in POLITYKA under the title "Proletarians of all Enterprises Unite." The title is used by the Radio Free Europe publicist to contrast the lateral cooperation practised by party organizations with the vertical hierarchy practised by the party apparatus.

(Suszycki) asks a poignant question of party members: Which party do you favor; a party rendered powerless by the iron grip of the apparatus, invariably obedient to orders issued by central authorities whose activities are never checked by anybody, or a transformed party in which the adjective 'democratic,' distorted in its meaning by the meaningless 'democratic centralism' formula, will assume its true hue and become a reality?

To anyone who even superficially understands the Leninist idea of democratic centralism, these fundamental contradictions of which (Suszycki) is trying to persuade us have no existence. They form a single unity because a party which is not led ceases to be a party and becomes just a discussion club. On the other hand a party which is only led becomes a grouping of mindless executors of injunctio s issued from above.

This was clearly stated in the TRYBUNA LUDU columns by (Jadwiga Tucholska), secretary of the party committee in Czeladz: The principle of more and broader exchanges of view both horizontally and vertically in the stage of preparing decisions, more frank controversy and criticism while dealing with the subjects, more respect for the demands and suggestions born in the course of discussion should also be taken to mean a need for absolute subordination and consistent implementation. Once we have decided something jointly, we are all, as party members, responsible for putting that decision into practice.

As far as another apparent problem reported by Radio Free Europe is concerned, that is the nature of the most urgent task for the present and whether it is the campaign against antisocialist views or the campaign against conservatism and dogmatism, it is enough to answer that dogmatism and conservatism are also antisocialist views. Let us recall a deep thought expressed by Karl Marx: The development of socialist sectarianism and the development of a true socialist movement are always mutually opposed.

POWER STATIONS AGAIN FACING COAL SHORTAGE

LD060916 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0800 GMT 6 Mar 81

[Text] The Ministry of Power Industry and Atomic Energy has announced that the present stocks of coal at power and heating stations are very small indeed.

In some of the most important stations they are barely enough for between 1 and 4 working days. If the demand for power and consequently the consumption of coal remain at their present level it may result in cuts in electricity supplies. In this connection the ministry has appealed for maximum economy in the use of electric power and heating in industrial enterprises as well as on private farms.

DEPUTY ADDRESSES SEJM ON RURAL SELF-GOVERNMENT

LD061158 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0855 GMT 6 Mar 81

[Speech by Sejm Deputy Boleslaw Struzek, rural self-government representative, at today's Sejm session--live]

[Excerpts] Citizen speaker, may it please the house, I have the honor of presenting the fundamental premises of the bill on rural self-government. The bill has been drawn up on the initiative of the deputies' Commission for Agriculture and the Food Industry. Work on it lasted from the end of September, more or less, until 19 February. It aims to strengthen among private farmers a sense of the stability and permanence of individual farming, to raise the social standing of the farmer's profession, to shape more favorable conditions for the development of individual farms by creating social machinery for the representation and defense of the professional and social interests of farmers, and through their own organizational activity and the economic organizations of rural self-government in support of individual farming, and finally to guarantee for self-government real possibilities to influence the formation of the agricultural and social policies of the state in relation to the countryside, and ipso facto to ensure an influence in forming the correct relations between the national economy and agriculture, between society and the countryside.

In the preamble to the bill, important legal guarantees for individual peasant farmers have been formulated--farmers who fulfill a fundamental role in feeding society and are a permanent constituent part of the country's agricultural policy. It is stated, and I quote: The Polish People's Republic recognizes and defends, on the basis of the laws in force, the individual ownership of those farms and the right to inherit them; it guarantees the aid essential for their development; it creates conditions ensuring the economic, social and cultural progress of the countryside; equal rights [two words indistinct] the social and professional status of individual farmers and an increase in the standard of living of farmers. It supports the development of farmers' self-government as the representative of their professional and social interests to state administrative bodies and to state and social economic units, working for the benefit of rural areas and agriculture, and as one of the cells of socialist democracy in the countryside.

The social category of private farmer unites two categories within it--the working man and the employer who is also an owner of the means of production. These cannot be separated and I must emphasize this. The rural self-government system corresponds to this and is based on historical experience of the peasants and private farmers classes, arguing that private farmers are also employees because the state is for them a collective investor and employer does not withstand rational criticism. Other significant sectors of small-scale manufacturing, such as the crafts, in their self-governing organization system do not aspire to the organization of a trade union but instead use their own particular forms such as chambers, cooperatives or centrally, the National Council of Crafts.

The content and the functions of representing the professional and social interests of private farmers is defined in detail by Article Nine of the draft bill, which lists such areas of issues as private farmers' needs as regards supply of means of production derived both from agriculture and industry; management of land; agricultural investments, particularly the ones financed by the community such as water supply, drainage, cultivation of land and so forth; development of services; organization of contract purchasing; taxes; agricultural produce pricing and prices of means of production and services; credits policy; property insurance; economic and social plans applying to rural countryside; plans of spatial development of rural countryside and location; and health services; schools; improvement of working conditions; welfare services for the rural population; and the policy of shaping incomes of the rural population.

This is a factual list of the broad aspects of the function described as the defense of farmers' professional interests.

Article 10 of the bill states that the administrative organs, organizations and other administrative units have a duty to give their response to the opinions, postulates or demands submitted by rural self-government organizations within 1 month. If rural self-government organizations are dissatisfied with the stance adopted by administrative organs, they will have the right to protest and to participate in negotiations. The final means for obtaining satisfaction of the justified demands of self-government, in particular if these concern the farmers' vital interests, is the right to undertake protest actions. Concrete forms of such protest actions will be shaped by practice. The bill does not mention any such forms. Such activity must not, however, disturb public order. The aforementioned means of obtaining satisfaction of demands of rural self-government [passage indistinct]. They are laid down in the bill and their range and choice will depend on the importance of the given issue or task.

One of the essential functions of rural self-government is to create better development conditions for private farming through their own organizational and economic activities, as defined in Articles 12 and 13 of the bill.

Article 22, paragraph 2 states and I quote: Agricultural circles can be founders and members of cooperatives established to provide services for private farmers.

Generally describing the draft law, one must state that its first two chapters and [word indistinct] define the main norms of competence of rural self-government and the procedural norms used in the realization of these rights. The regulations of this part of the bill apply to all the organizations of rural self-government. The next five chapters of the bill deal with specific issues concerning agricultural circles, rural branch associations, local unions of these organizations, and the central union of agricultural circles and organizations. The eighth chapter defines the organs and the manner of registration and the ninth chapter incorporates the changes in the existing laws.

May it please the house, in view of the social significance of the draft bill, which directly affects nearly 3 million peasant families and indirectly affects the organs of state administration, organizations and the socialized economy, I submit that the draft law be given to consultation, firstly through the parliamentary parties and then voivodship teams of deputies, organizations of agricultural circles, branch associations, organizations of rural cooperatives, trade unions, scientific and research centers in the food economy sector, and the relevant associations of the supreme technical organization. I also submit that the draft bill be passed to the agriculture and food industry commissions and to the legislative work commission in order that further work on the content and form of the law be carried out, taking into consideration all correct suggestions and proposals gathered in the consultation process. Finally I would like to stress that the bill should form the basis for the consolidation of agriculture and the preservation of rural self-government unity, and should take advantage of the social potential of the countryside, the potential for renewal and the potential of justified social aspirations. Thank you.

OBODOWSKI CITED ON ECONOMIC, STRUCTURAL REFORMS

LD041605 Madrid EL PAIS in Spanish 27 Feb 81 p 4

[Julio Serra interview with Polish Minister of Labor, Wages and Social Affairs Janusz Obodowski: "Polish Economic Reform Envisages Joint Management in Enterprises"]

[Text] Polish Minister of Labor, Wages and Social Affairs Janusz Obodowski, 50 years of age, has devoted himself to the study of the three issues covered by his ministry since he graduated in economics in 1974 at the Warsaw Main School of Planning and Statistics.

The successive posts which he has held in his country's public administration have always been connected with wages and productivity schemes. Between 1972 and November 1980--when he was appointed minister of labor--he was an under secretary of state at the same ministry. To all this it must be added that he was the politician most directly involved in the conflicts which have arisen in Poland since the wave of strikes called by the Solidarity independent trade unions began. Obodowski replied as follows to a list of questions submitted by an EL PAIS special correspondent in Poland.

Question: The level of labor productivity in certain sectors is apparently very low. What guarantees does the government have that greater worker self-management will automatically result in an increase in their interest in the results of their work?

Answer: The economic reform, which is in the process of being prepared and whose basic principles have been submitted for national approval, envisages granting a high degree of autonomy to the enterprises regarded as basic economic units, as well as considerable participation by the personnel in the joint management of the enterprises. This reform assumes the existence of a direct relationship between management efficiency and the results from which the personnel benefit. This is why I personally view the workers' reaction with optimism. I believe that they will be interested in the improvement of enterprise efficiency. It is vitally important for the workers to exercise considerable influence in this respect. If this is the case, why should they not work better? This development should have a considerable influence on increasing the country's overall productivity.

Question: Does the reform envisage the setting up or retention of new bodies, such as the labor courts, for instance?

Answer: The principles of the economic reform center on the functional problems of our economy, the structural and functional solutions of the system of management and the economic and financial systems of the economic organizations. The workers' labor demands do not figure among the problems which the principles of the reform concern. The experience which has been gained demonstrates that the present system is functioning efficiently and that the setting up of new bodies to resolve the above-mentioned demands is not necessary.

The system comprises the following elements:

--The arbitration committees

--The committees of appeals concerning labor disputes

--The regional labor and social welfare courts

--The Supreme Court's labor and social welfare chamber.

This system's structure and functioning are regulated in detail in the Labor Code, which dates from 1974, and the law on regional labor and social welfare courts of the same year.

Moreover, every worker is ensured the efficient protection of his interests by the trade unions and other organizations connected with the world of labor.

Question: In Poland, as in other countries, the government and the party attach great importance to the need to offer young people attractive future prospects. What measures is the government adopting to encourage young people to participate spontaneously in social and vocational life?

Answer: Motivating young people to devote themselves to social and vocational activities is a decisive issue in the strictest sense of the word for the country's future. Poland is a youthful country. Half the population is under 20 years of age. That is why so much importance was attached to this issue at the beginning of Polish socialism.

The essential activities in this field include the development of both elementary and higher education and the development of various forms of social activity for young people, including various kinds of youth associations affiliated to the political, social and cultural organizations, whose aim is to encourage young people's interest in science, sport and so forth. The results of these activities are reflected, among other things, in the educational structure of society. During the period 1960-78 the percentage of parents with children aged 15 and over doubled (from 12.4 percent to 24.3 percent). Youth employment is promoted equally in the cities and in the countryside.

WOJTECKI CHAIRS PZPR MEETING ON AGRICULTURE TASKS

LD042052 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 4 Mar 81

[Text] A conference of secretaries responsible for agriculture and the food sector was held at the party Central Committee today which was chaired by Jerzy Wojtecki, secretary of the Central Committee. The conference carried out a review of the sociopolitical situation in rural areas and defined the ensuing tasks for the work of party organizations in the immediate future.

The conference also reviewed the state of preparations for the spring campaign in agriculture and discussed the implementation of this year's agricultural production targets. It was stressed that the main task was to put into practice the principles of farm policy contained in the guidelines issued by the party Central Committee Politburo and by the ZSL Supreme Committee Presidium which, following broad consultation in rural areas, were approved in January. The discussion was dominated by concern for improvement in supplies of fertilizers, plant protection substances and spare parts for rural areas. It was stressed that party branches and organizations must help the cooperative self-government in developing work which would help to activate the social and professional work by rural inhabitants.

TRYBUNA LUDU COMMENTARY FAVORS ECONOMIC AUSTERITY

LD020350 Warsaw PAP in English 0200 GMT 2 Mar 81

[From the press review]

[Text] Warsaw, 2 Mar (PAP)--TRYBUNA LUDU commentator Tomasz Jezioranski today wrote that the recently observable signs of an upbeat mood in Poland "have no justification in the material reality. The country's economic situation is not improving but getting worse week after week. We should not delude ourselves--the most difficult months are, unfortunately, still before us. The causes: Output has been falling for months, productivity is decreasing, but wages continue to go up.

"The balance of payments is becoming dramatic. The cause: the breakdown in exports. Over the first seven weeks of the current year, exports to the socialist countries fell by nearly 22 per cent, and to the capitalist buyers by 32 per cent. At the same time, imports from the socialist countries went up by more than 15 per cent and those from the capitalist countries did drop but by a mere 17 per cent. Such poor results in January in the key economic spheres, with no prospects for improvement in February, make it imperative to repeat the appeal, to sound an alarm for the economy and resort to radical decisions.

"The basic operation to be done is to scale down this year's socio-economic plan. Without this the government's 10-point programme is unrealistic.

"Both the downscaled plan for this year and the 3-year programme should rest on a clear-cut strategic premise. They have to respond to one simple, but basic question: Are we devising a consumer-led plan and programme, or do we want to overcome the crisis. These two objectives are mutually exclusive.

"Thus, the necessary step to be taken by the government is to obtain social approval for belt tightening. I have no doubt that this approval will be given", concluded the commentator.

COMMENTARY ON INVESTIGATION OF CORRUPT PRACTICES

LD041930 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 4 Mar 81

[Text] Some people say that the nation wants blood; others, and we are among them, say that the nation wants justice, an honest squaring of accounts for the corrupt practices of recent years.

So we have Chairman [of the Supreme Chamber of Control] Moczar who continues to produce from his cavernous cabinets ever new files. Every day we read in newspapers fresh reports about a new investigation against a former director, manager; or minister--here a villa costing several million, there a free vacation in Sicily, and over there a tape recorder or a ceremonial sword.

But we may as well admit that all these annoying thefts are, to be truthful, only peanuts when compared with robbing the community of really large sums wasted in off-target, as they used to be called, investments, or wasted on imports needed as much as a hole in the head. It is well known that with our low standards of living the level (?of resistance to bribes) by some of those who were responsible for making decisions (?was not very high either). Quite often our Western customers would tell each other with amusement how small the bribes were which people in Poland find acceptable; that often millions were disposed of in exchange for the proverbial ballpoint pen, as long as it was hard to be revealed as a bribe.

Maybe the settling of accounts should thus be approached from another side. The Penal Code, Chapter 30, Article 217, Paragraphs 1 and 2 says: Persons who, while holding office in the national economy, fail to perform their duty or exceed their authority as regards proper management, and who thus, even unintentionally, allow property to be wasted or even used incorrectly or excessively, or who cause other serious damage to the national economy, are liable to imprisonment of 6 months to 5 years. If great damage is the result of any action, the perpetrator is liable to imprisonment of 1-8 years.

Some of you might say that to apply this article rigorously would result in overpopulation of our penal institutions and that maybe the matter should be dealt with by the various departments themselves, starting with the (?typing pool). But, to be serious, the legal tool is there. It will be enough merely to apply it, in an orderly, legal but consistent way.

A spokesman of the Prosecutor General's Office told us today that at present, under the provisions of the above quoted article, proceedings are in progress against more than 160 people. Good, but not enough.

GRABSKI ATTENDS WALBRZYCH VOIVODSHIP PARTY SESSION

LD022312 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 2 Mar 81

[Text] The tasks of the voivodship party organization before the Ninth PZPR Congress were the subject of today's plenary meeting of the PZPR voivodship committee in Walbrzych. The session was attended by Tadeusz Grabski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee. During the discussion it was said, among other things, that at present it is necessary to make all efforts to achieve the full consolidation of party ranks and to eliminate from the party those people who are indifferent to the vital interests of the nation. It was also stressed that everything should be done so that the 90-day period of calm work can be transformed into a permanent process of normalizing life in our country.

APPOINTMENT OF FOOD ECONOMY CHAIRMAN ANNOUNCED

LD022142 Warsaw PAP in English 2012 GMT 2 Mar 81

[Excerpt] Warsaw, 2 Mar (PAP)--The motion of the minister of finance the chairman of the Council of Ministers has appointed Bohdan Wladon chairman of the Food Economy Bank.

CEAUSESCU SPEECH AT POLISH ENVOY'S ACCREDITATION

AU051243 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 4 Mar 81 p 5

[Report on Speech by Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu at the accreditation ceremony for Polish Ambassador Boleslaw Koperski, in Bucharest on 3 March]

[Text] Receiving the letter of accreditation, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu expressed thanks for the wishes extended to him and, in turn, conveyed comradely greetings and best wishes to Comrades Stanislaw Kania, Henryk Jablonski and Wojciech Jaruzelski, the party and all Polish people on behalf of the RCP, the State Council, the government and Romanian people, and on his own behalf.

In his speech, the head of the Romanian state stressed that the RCP and our people pay special attention to developing relations of friendship and multifaceted cooperation between our parties, countries and peoples, relations which stem from the longstanding Romanian-Polish traditions of solidarity, from the struggle waged throughout centuries for national and social liberation, and from joint goals and aspirations of shaping a new, socialist life in Romania and Poland. The speaker then continued: "I am convinced that on the basis of joint action in the spirit of the treaty of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance of November 1970 and of the Romanian-Polish declaration of 1977, these relations will continue to expand and deepen to a greater extent in the interest of our peoples, of socialist contruction in Romania and Poland, and in the interest of the general cause of socialism, peace and international cooperation. The communists and working people in Romania are familiar with and sincerely rejoice at the successes recorded by the Polish people under PZPR leadership in socialist construction and in the country's socioeconomic development. We are convinced that the PZPR, the government, the workers class and the Polish people are capable of resolving all the problems they are facing now in close unity, and ensuring their firm progress: On the road of socialist construction and of improving their material and cultural well-being, and on the road of strengthening the new system and consolidating the independence and sovereignty of the Polish People's Republic."

The speaker then stressed that the Romanian people are currently engaged, with all their power, in implementing the targets and tasks of the second stage of the party program of building the comprehensively developed socialist society and Romania's advance toward communism. "At an international level," the speaker also stated, "Romania is actively participating in resolving the major problems on which world peace and security depend. We are broadly developing friendship and cooperation with all socialist countries, and with the developing and nonaligned countries. We are also expanding relations with all world states, irrespective of social system, in the spirit of peaceful coexistence. We firmly base all our foreign relations on the principles of full equal rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in internal affairs, mutual advantage and reunification of the use or threat of force. We pay special attention to achieving European security, and firmly advocate eliminating the policy of force and solving all problems and conflicts between countries by peaceful means and negotiations alone. We take sustained action to stop the arms race and to achieve disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament, and to eliminate underdevelopment and gaps between countries. We also advocate the establishment of a new international economic order."

The head of the Romanian state then wished the Polish ambassador success in his mission and assured him of the support of the State Council and government, and of his own support.

DELEGATE ADDRESSES UN SESSION ON NAMIBIA

AU042050 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1900 GMT 4 Mar 81

[Text] United Nations, 4 Mar (AGERPRES)--Taking the floor during the debates of the 35th, resumed, session of the General Assembly on the Namibian question, Teodor Marinescu, Romanian permanent representative to the United Nations, presented the stand of the Romanian state on the necessity of liquidating immediately the last vestiges of colonialism, of realizing the Namibian people's inalienable right to a free, sovereign existence. He has laid stress on the multilateral support Romania has granted to the Namibian people an to its liberation movement, the Southwest African People's Organization, SWAPO, to its right to choose its own line of economic and social development, to live freely in an independent, unitary homeland.

The speaker has highlighted the sustained activity carried out by Romania along the years, at the United Nations and within other international forums, her contribution to actions meant to put an end to the illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa, to the undelayed materialization of the Namibian people's independence.

The Romanian representative has shown that given the situation that the Pretoria racist regime--using the technique of dragging on in order to gain time and continue the oppression over Namibia--generated the failure of the Geneva conference on the access of that territory to independence by means of free elections under UN supervision, the member states are more directly faced with the responsibility they have for the Namibian people. More than ever it is necessary, he said, to intensify the actions of solidarity with the just cause of Namibia, to identify the most adequate means enabling the UN to fulfill its historic responsibility. Resolved actions are necessary on an international plane. Economic and diplomatic pressures should make South Africa pass on immediately to the application of the UN programme on Namibia. The UN General Assembly and the Security Council are called to exercise fully the role incumbent on them, to take energetic action for eliminating the opposition and obstacles raised by the South African Government before the free exertion of the Namibian people's right to a free sovereign existence.

ITALIAN ASSEMBLY CHAIRMAN NILDE JOTTI ARRIVES

AU052031 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1848 GMT 5 Mar 81

[Text] Bucharest, 5 Mar (AGERPRES)--Nilde Jotti, president of the Chamber of Deputies of the Italian Parliament, arrived on March 5 in Bucharest for a visit to Romania at the invitation of the Grand National Assembly. The guest is accompanied by Vincenzo Longi, secretary-general of the Chamber of Deputies, by advisers.

The Italian parliamentarians were welcomed at the Otopeni Airport by Nicolae Giosan, chairman of the Grand National Assembly, by other Romanian officials.

Meeting With Giosan

AU052002 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1900 GMT 5 Mar 81

[Text] Bucharest, 5 Mar (AGERPRES)--On March 5, Nicolae Giosan, chairman of the Grand National Assembly, had an interview with Nilde Jotti, president of the Chamber of Deputies of Italy, who arrived in Bucharest the same day.

During the talks that passed in a warm friendly cordial atmosphere, the sides expressed satisfaction at the ascending course of the traditional relations of friendship and collaboration between Romania and Italy, highlighting the decisive contribution of the Romanian-Italian summit dialogue in the promotion of collaboration and cooperation on multiple planes between the two countries. The sides also brought to the fore the existence of possibilities of expanding and strengthening the bilateral collaboration in various fields of activity.

Opinions were also exchanged on the preoccupations and activity of the Romanian Grand National Assembly and of the Italian Chamber of Deputies, the sides stressing the joint wish to amplify their relations of friendship and collaboration, to increase their contribution to developing the relations between Romania and Italy, to strengthening peace and to the resumption of the process of international detente, to the consistent promotion of the spirit of understanding and cooperation among peoples.

DUMA DISCUSSES COOPERATION WITH MALAGASY OFFICIAL

AU051433 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1400 GMT 5 Mar 81

[Text] Comrade Aurel Duma, minister secretary of state at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and chairman of the Romanian side in the joint Romanian-Malagasy Commission for Economic and Technical Cooperation, today met with Pierre Simon, Malagasy minister of rural development and agrarian reform, who is on an official visit to our country. The sides reviewed joint cooperation ventures and the implementation of decisions taken at the last session of the joint commission. They are also seeking new ways and means of expanding the economic and technical cooperation and the commercial exchanges between the two countries.

BILIC DISCUSSES STRIKES, OPPOSITION, CHURCH

AU022151 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 19 Feb 81 p 5

["Part of authorized speech" by Jure Bilic, president of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Croatia, to members of the Council of the Republic on 12 February--place not given]

[Excerpts] Despite the obvious economic difficulties, difficulties which could be even greater, the situation in society is relatively satisfactory. We have no serious social excesses and shocks. However, a constant warning remains: When the situation is good, everything, even what is bad, is considered good; but when the situation begins to change then even what is good can become bad.

If we were to assess 1980 by means of some indicators, for instance how many strikes there were--which are taken as some kind of indicator of the situation in the workers class--then we could be quite satisfied. In Croatia in 1980, there were 52 work stoppages involving some 4,000 workers and lasting on the average nearly 7 hours. In the first month and one-half of 1981, there were 6 work stoppages involving 520 workers and lasting an average 2 and 1/2 hours. Mainly, dissatisfaction was over the distribution of personal income, more rarely over the level of income, but far more frequently over the undeveloped criteria for distribution of income, that is, over the relations among those employed.

Workers Judge in a Mature and Responsible Manner

It has been assumed that the workers' standard of living in Yugoslavia has declined by 9 percent and in Croatia by 6 percent. Now those figures have been somewhat corrected, because personal incomes were increased at the end of the year and after the annual financial reports on enterprises.

In our talks with workers we did not and must not bypass any important topic. Our frank talks are a great thing for our society. They help our progress. I believe that our economic situation is more difficult than in some other countries, but we have fewer shocks. However, we must not deceive ourselves that such shocks could not occur, at least on a local scale, and they could cause further difficulties in our development...

Understanding Our Times

Here are also some negative political and ideological tendencies. I have mentioned the general atmosphere which you also follow and know. Which are the "opposition forces" now? I believe that what is involved are not opposition forces, but forces of counter-revolution. For we must accept all those who are "against" but who will not betray our country and serve the foreigner. Those who are against us and who would betray our country and serve the foreigner are counterrevolutionaries, and we must speak about them as counterrevolution and not as opposition. Also we can have "opposition" in our own ranks when we search for a better solution and so on. This is sometimes even good so as to develop a critical way of thinking.

Allow me to say something about those elements. Chiefly it is a matter of the forces overthrown in 1971 and defeated in the war. And when one looks at it now one is even more convinced what an evil that was. Not only had the so-called mass movement appeared, but the dirty activities of individuals continue to be connected with 1971, and this in fact is a connection with the forces defeated in the national liberation struggle. We should reveal the proper situation to the world. These activities only help terrorism and neofascism in cooperation with extremist political emigres. The nationalist opposition here wants to cover itself with a democratic cloak and the so-called democratic alternative. This is how it presents itself to the world and with such deceit it seeks support abroad.

These people can obtain the support of some democratically oriented journalists, politicians and well-meaning people because they do not know about their true activities.

When the world learns the truth that they want to break up the SFRY, not only will support be withdrawn but the democratic public will condemn them. Those who want a return to the old relations are few. Therefore we must truly present them to the world as the people who are undermining this country and who in the final resort mean a turning back for the socialist Republic of Croatia, too. We know what the independent state of Croatia [set up by Hitler in 1941] was. We know what Macek [prewar Croat Peasant Party leader] wanted and we know what the old Yugoslavia was.

Unmasking the Groups of Traitors

We must unmask the group around Veselica, Botovac and others because of the situation in our country, too, regardless of what they used to be, for their activities lead them directly into fascism. They have reached, if not the Ustashist line, at least pro-Ustashist and one of the HSS [Hrvatska Seljacka Stranka--Croat Peasant Party] and Macek, like Tudjman. They want to break up Yugoslavia asserting that Croatia cannot achieve its interests in the SFRY. What does this mean? What is it? They are linked chiefly with hostile elements abroad and they have no significant support at home. Indeed, there is collusion between the Croat and the Serbian nationalists and others. There is collusion with like-minded people in Slovenia. The Zagreb group cooperates with Djilas, with him and with the Belgrade group which wanted to publish the journal JAVNOST, and they want to present themselves jointly as a democratic alternative and progressive force on a world scale. But in fact that group is also treasonable, Great-Serbian and hegemonistic and it should also be unmasked. After all, Djilas' son is a Chetnik. He now writes in Chetnik magazines against our country. The world should be presented only the truth about these groups, for in essence they advocate either hegemonism or separatism. In this they often agree and therefore they proclaim solidarity. Political action is most important for us. The Croat people and other peoples and nationalities who live in the socialist Republic of Croatia know that there is no alternative for this Croatia without Yugoslavia and this system.

About Verbal Offenses

A great deal is being said about the petitions to "free political prisoners." I can tell you that there are very few such prisoners in our prisons: in Croatia, 91 all told, and the fewest of them were convicted because of so-called verbal offenses. We should also clear up the matter of verbal offenses. First of all, one should know what a country we are and what history we have. We know it well, but others do not. In our country, a verbal political act is counterrevolutionary. Provoking religious or national hatred is a counterrevolutionary act. History has taught us that. Therefore we must explain what is "verbal" to the part of our public who do not know it. It is not the same concept as in Germany, France or America. We know better what the correct understanding and the correct solution of the national problem, as well as of other social problems, mean for us. Therefore the number of our political prisoners is small. Let others say how many they have.

Cominformist forces are active with various intensity. They are constantly waiting for their time to come, and these forces behave inside our country according to the general relations of the big powers and their relations toward us.

However, it is certain that we want good relations with both the East and the West, with all who deal with us on an equal footing and respect us. I think that we now have good relations with all the neighbors and with the socialist countries and the Western ones, and especially with the nonaligned countries.

About Religious Communities

Now a few words about religious communities.

We have talked about them a great deal in the last year and a half: first the Presidium and then the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Croatia, as well as other sociopolitical and self-managing organizations.

Three tendencies are present in the Catholic Church.

The first tendency, manifested by people who are few in numbers but pugnacious, leans, on the one side, on profascist elements, individuals inside and outside the church; and on the other side on Ustasha and other elements defeated in World War II and the national liberation struggle who exert pressure on the church and want to influence our relations through the church and create positions in the country. Some of them stress Stepinac (not only) because of himself and the interests of the church. Some do it for the sake of the continuity of a defeated policy, and some do it for one or another reason. That is not good. This group is subjected to outside pressure either by Ustashist emigres or by a group of people at home, who at one time were in our movement. The main pressure is exerted on Kaptol [the seat of the Zagreb archbishop], which is being encouraged to oppose our system and our setup. Therefore two high priests signed the "petition." We have told them that we grant an amnesty every year two or three times and that they could propose something to us so that we may jointly seek solutions if something needs to be done, but they should not do it with these hostile elements.

The Faithful Are Also an Active Factor in the Struggle for Socialism

The second tendency is the so-called integralist one. As this group stresses, it is in favor of self-management and this Yugoslavia, but it can accept self-management only if it is not atheistic. I think that there is no dispute about this, for full freedom of religion and religious belief is ensured in our society.

The church should clear up and settle relations within its own domain, just as the social community should in its own, eliminating the shortcomings noticed, and then relations will be able to develop better. Therefore we cannot understand the thesis about not accepting self-management as long as it is "atheistic" as anything but a certain tendency, and this group, by stressing the problem of atheism, objectively advocates certain political aims. Some people say that they will not deal in politics, but they assert that the church consists not only of priests but also of believers. This means a depoliticizing of the believers but tendencies exist among them to create lay political organizations. However, the believers are an active factor in the struggle for socialism. Just as they fought with rifles in their hands during the national liberation struggle, so they are now active in the development of socialist self-management. These are the positions that must be adopted and everything will be easier then.

Dispute With Enemies of Our Community

The third tendency is represented by the so-called loyalists, who are well meaning, who wish the church to work in harmony with the Constitution and the laws and who accept the SFRY as it is. They have made many public statements and done practical things of good value. It is especially important that this orientation is accepted by the lower clergy and a large number of the bishops. Therefore it must be said clearly and loudly that it is not a matter of freedom for church activities. The dispute is not about this, but there is a dispute with those forces that behave toward our community, the SFRY and the Socialist Republic of Croatia, in a politically negative and hostile way. It is this that is harmful to our socialist republic, the Croatian people and the entire SFRY and all the peoples and nationalities, all the people whether believers or not.

Anyhow, we can easily disarm those who are ill-intentioned when they say that the church cannot develop freely. Over 900 churches have been renovated and reconstructed in Croatia since the war and about 300 have been built or are under construction. We are now making an inventory and we will present the exact data to the international and domestic public.

NIN READERS TAKE ISSUE WITH DOLANC'S VIEWS

AU051735 [Editorial Report] Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian No. 1573 on 22 February on pages 2-3 carries a 1,500-word letter to the editor from Antun Zvan taking issue with some of the views expressed by Stane Dolanc, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, in an 18 January NIN interview. Recalling Dolanc's answer to a question about "'implementing democratic centralism in the party, and not just the party, in a developed self-managing society with recognized pluralist interests,'" Zvan notes that in this connection Dolanc raised the question of whether a member of the League of Communists within a self-managing organ "'is bound to advocate the position of the League of Communists or has the right, as a self-manager, to debate freely'" and answered that "'a member of the League of Communists must adopt positions only on the basic ideological directions of this society's development.'"

Pointing out that, similar to Dolanc, he is expressing his views as a contribution to public discussions on the pertinent issues, Antun Zvan says "in my opinion, and not only in mine, the plurality of interests in society does not raise the question of implementing democratic centralism in the party and demands the solution that Dolanc discusses even less so, that is, the solution that communists are not bound to advocate the positions of the League of Communists. If such a solution were adopted, we would soon have a plurality of interests in the League of Communists also, with all the consequences that would logically result from such pluralism. It is after all necessary to differentiate between the party and society," Zvan says.

According to Zvan, "Dolanc has failed to adequately explain the concept of democratic centralism on the basis of the documents of the League of Communists even though what he says is true to a considerable extent if we understand it as a diagnosis of the actual state of affairs in this respect." Democratic centralism does not reduce LCY members simply to a voting body. If it did, then it should be immediately renounced, Zvan says and points out that all LCY documents clearly show that "the concept of democratic centralism does not imply merely the voting rights of members, the obligation of the minority to carry out the conclusions of the majority and the obligation of the lower organs to respect the decisions of the higher organs, but also the democratic process which must be implemented and respected in determining party policy, conclusions and decisions." The LCY statute clearly establishes the right of members to freely express their views as well as their right to stand by their views, although they are obliged to carry out the majority decisions. "Therefore, democratic centralism is not as black as it seems, but I nevertheless renounce the role of its defender," Zvan emphasizes. "As a matter of fact," he says, "I think that, at least regarding the LCY, that principle has become obsolete and no longer truthfully reflects either our theoretical concept of the unity of the League of Communists or the existing internal party relations." In his opinion, "the question of centralism has not been essential to the LCY for a long time now; the democratic attribute of that principle is essential." For that reason, he says, it is "the principle of the democratic unity of LCY activity that would more truthfully reflect the relations in the LCY than the principle of democratic centralism."

As to the role of the LCY in society, Zvan continues in his letter, "the concept outlined by Comrade Dolanc in this connection denies the LCY its participation in the direct practice of the workers class and society and, in addition to that, contains two serious defects: a paternalistic attitude of the League of Communists toward self-management and a mechanistic division of labor between the League of Communists on one side and the sociopolitical organizations and self-managing organs on the other," for according to Dolanc, "the League of Communists must adopt positions 'only on the basic ideological directions of this society's development.'"

But the League of Communists is "a part of the workers class and, as an organization, also a part of our self-managing system yet, at the same time, a part that does not have a privileged paternalistic position within that system," Zvan points out. "The division of labor between the League of Communists and the self-managing organs and organizations of working people and citizens, as discussed by Comrade Dolanc, cannot be supported." Such a division of labor would eliminate the League of Communists from the everyday practice of the workers class and the society whereas what is needed is precisely the opposite: "It is necessary even more resolutely to become immersed in that practice and come to grips with the problems that we face," Zvan concludes.

In a brief editorial note at the end of the letter, NIN says that the letter is published as an expression of personal views and as a contribution to discussions preceding the 12th LCY Congress and calls attention to the fact that "Comrade Dolanc expressed the views, to which Comrade Zvan refers in his letter, in an improvised interview and in response to NIN questions." On the other hand Dolanc elaborated his views in detail on the topic in his study "Democratic Centralism" published in the journal ZBORNIK of the Ljubljana Law Faculty in 1980, NIN adds.

Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian No. 1574 on 1 March on page eight carries a 320-word letter to the editor from Goran Djurovic of Belgrade taking exception to Zvan's views. Djurovic says that as "a young member of the League of Communists," he is mainly oriented to the practical problems of our everyday life and believes that "the principle of democratic centralism not only is not obsolete, as Comrade Zvan believes, but instead is the only vital and effective method by which every LCY member is able to participate, as a basic subjective factor, in forming LCY policy and views, thereby consciously assuming responsibility for their consistent implementation in various assemblies, self-managing organs and sociopolitical organizations." He fears, he says, that "the principle of the democratic unity of LCY activity, advocated by Comrade Zvan, would lead us to various forms of group forming and factionalist activity and thereby weaken the force of our revolutionary action." At the same time, the obligation of LCY members to carry out the LCY's decisions and advocate its views in various self-managing organs and bodies "does not imply that LCY members have fewer rights than other working people, as Comrade Dolanc fears. On the contrary, because they have formed their views, within the LCY, on the basic ideological directions of this society's development, they are, in their sociopolitical and ideological actions in society, much more independent and enterprising in their initiatives than anybody else," Djurovic concludes.